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ABSTRACT

More than half of entering community college students lack the basic skills required to do college-level academic work. Blacks, Hispanics, and American Indians disproportionately rely on community colleges as their point of initial access to higher education, making the issue of preparation inherently tied to factors of race and ethnicity. In some areas, community colleges enroll 40% of all high school graduates, but 80% of the minority graduates. The prevailing community college approach to student preparation issues involves a deficiency model in which remediation is emphasized as the dominant strategy for bringing everyone to minimum standards. Also needed is an achievement model that challenges faculty to design an environment where diversity is valued and individuals are inspired to build on their strengths to attain maximum potential. The task of implementing achievement models in institutions historically committed to access is, above all, a task of managing culture. While culture management is more time-consuming and difficult than the introduction of technology, it is the only approach through which faculty can be influenced to augment deficiency views and practices. A complicating factor is that the two models will need to coexist in most community colleges for the foreseeable future. Efforts to manage culture will be aided by the opportunity to employ new staff as those faculty who represent founding values and beliefs retire in large numbers over the next decade. A flow-chart model of institutional adaptation to student diversity and a 28-item bibliography are included. (JMC)

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MINORITY ACHIEVEMENT
COUNTING ON YOU

by
Richard C. Richardson Jr.

June 1990

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Responding to Student Diversity: A Community College Perspective

RESPONDING TO STUDENT DIVERSITY: A COMMUNITY COLLEGE PERSPECTIVE

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This is the fourth in a series of papers prepared for the Education Commission of the States (ECS) National Task Force on Minority Achievement in Higher Education. The papers draw upon an ongoing five-year study being conducted by the National Center for Postsecondary Governance and Finance with funding from the Office of Educational Research and Improvement (OERI) of the U.S. Department of Education (DE). The opinions expressed in the paper do not necessarily reflect the position of the OERI/ED and no official endorsement should be inferred.

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Contents

Responding to Student Diversity: A Community College Perspective 1

Defining Underpreparation 3

A Conceptual Framework for Analyzing Preparation Issues 7

Institutional Strategies for Responding to Preparation Issues 11

The Role of Leadership 15

Conclusion 17

References 19

Notes 23

Responding to Student Diversity: A Community College Perspective

The rapid growth of community colleges during the '60s and '70s can be traced, in part, to public policy decisions to limit the amount of diversity selective four-year institutions were required to accommodate. Two-year colleges were created to serve as the major access point for populations previously excluded or underserved. Four-year colleges were expected to focus on achievement as traditionally defined. This arrangement has resulted in the concentration of students of color in institutions with the fewest resources from which they are less likely to graduate or transfer than their Anglo counterparts.[1]

The current concern with underpreparation is in large measure a concern about the long-term effects of concentrating a potential underclass in institutions that on the surface appear to be designed to support existing social and economic arrangements. Community colleges are not alone in this dilemma. Wildavsky[2] describes programs originating in the Great Society era generally as failures because they had as their objective changing client behavior and as it turns out, "Human Beings Are Not Very Easy to Change After All."[3] Confronted with clients who refused or were unable to change to conform to Great Society expectations for upward mobility from first-time exposure to higher education, community colleges first sought programs that required no change in clientele and, then, clientele who could be changed, or, better yet, needed no changing.

In the Diverted Dream, Brint and Karabel[4] argue an administrative conspiracy as the explanation for the "vocationalization" of community colleges during the '70s and '80s. Wildavsky's perspective offers a more straightforward explanation. By the early '70s it was clear to many community college leaders that continuing concentration on the transfer function with a clientele from which many of the higher-achieving and more academically oriented students had been "creamed" by four-year institutions could only lead to failure rates in excess of those for which they had already been publicly criticized. The development of career programs in which less well-prepared students could succeed was an attractive alternative. Later, as these programs led to increasingly close relationships with business and industry, community colleges had many opportunities to attract already employed workers, a clientele that needed no changing to benefit from the work-related programs their employers helped to establish.

During the '70s, the philosophy of "right to fail" gave students with increasingly marginal preparation the opportunity to attempt any academic course community colleges offered without prerequisites.

The community college emphasis on career programs and a widely publicized surplus of four-year graduates produced among transfer offerings by the late '70s, a "stultifying sameness of a curriculum shrunken to introductory courses."[5] In the early '80s, a pair of NIE-funded studies at two separate universities reached essentially similar conclusions. An institution established to "level up" disadvantaged segments of society had achieved

much of its success through leveling down the critical literacy skills required for successful completion of arts and science courses.[6,7]

The preparation of students attending community colleges generally improved in the '70s,[8] but the '80s have been a very different story. By the middle of the past decade, concern about the level of basic competencies and the preparation of students for more advanced work had moved from its ranking as fourth in 1979 to the top concern among community college administrators.[9]

In the last part of the current decade, community colleges have been drawn, often reluctantly, into the assessment movement. The results have confirmed that more than half of entering community college students lack the basic skills required to do credible academic work.[10] In urban institutions the numbers often range from three-fourths to more than 95% of the student body. As assessment becomes increasingly widespread, community college educators, like their K-12 colleagues, find that the idea of making measurement public has outrun their ability to demonstrate student accomplishment.[11] In lieu of approval for extending opportunities, community college leaders now often find themselves responding to charges that the less well-prepared students they increasingly serve are graduating or transferring at levels significantly below those previously attained by a better prepared cohort.

The general issue of preparation cannot be separated from factors of race and ethnicity. Blacks, Hispanics and American Indians disproportionately rely upon community colleges as their point of initial access to higher education. California community colleges enroll 40% of all high school graduates but 80% of all graduates of color.[12] Blacks and Latinos are less well represented among graduates and transfer cohorts than among community college students. In Florida, where 60% of all baccalaureate candidates are expected to begin in community colleges, Blacks constituted 18.7% of the 15-24 year-old population, 17.5% of the high school graduates, 13% of the community college enrollments, and 4.8% of the Associate in Arts degree graduates in 1988. In the same year they represented 7% of the state university system freshmen and earned 4% of the baccalaureate degrees.[13] From these data and studies of information provided by the National Center for Educational statistics, it is clear that community colleges are a part of the pipeline problem as well as a potential contributor to a solution.

Defining Underpreparation

The way a problem is defined has much to do with shaping the efforts aimed at its solution. Describing the way community colleges relate to their constituencies as strategic marketing rather than offering products, distributing services efficiently or selling existing programs and services, has brought about fundamental changes in the ways leaders think about their responsibilities and in their ways of doing business.[14]

The preparation problem has generally been defined in terms of student deficiencies. The deficiency approach has involved the use of standardized or faculty-developed assessment instruments as the basis for placing students with those advised to enter developmental courses defined as underprepared.

Under the deficiency approach, even the most highly selective institutions enroll students who are underprepared. At UCLA, one of the most selective universities in the nation, there is a large Academic Advancement Program that serves a predominantly minority student population who enter under Student Affirmative Action (SAA) guidelines. The mean high school grade-point average (GPA) for all UCLA entering freshmen in 1986 was 3.76. The mean high school GPA for SAA matriculants was 3.41. At UCLA, students with GPAs that would earn them merit scholarships in many other institutions are identified as underprepared.[15] The matter is further complicated by curricular differences. In some institutions, students who start their mathematics sequence below the level of calculus are considered underprepared.

Researchers at Arizona State interviewed 107 Black, Latino and American Indian graduates from 10 predominantly Anglo, four-year colleges and universities to determine whether a student's perspective on preparation might furnish an alternative to the deficiency view of student preparation.[16] Many of these baccalaureate graduates had previously attended a community college. The interviews documented in detail incredible stories of motivation, persistence and sacrifice both from students and from their families. More than half of these degree recipients had begun their college careers carrying the label of underprepared.

These student interviews suggested that preparation involves more than the high school attended and the courses taken. Preparation includes developing accurate expectations about college participation through experiences that approximate college-going. Preparation has cognitive, physical, temporal and social dimensions. The need for college students to develop accurate expectations about course content and academic skills is well understood, but substantially less attention is given to the other three aspects of preparation for college-going.

Preparation is directly related to family educational experience. Students with the most detailed and accurate expectations came from families with a tradition of college-going. Preparation was also influenced by association with present and past college-goers in school, in the community and in the workplace. Positive role models helped students

prepare by providing indirect simulation of college-going through the sharing of college experiences.

The beliefs students develop about valued adult roles and the part played by education in structuring access to those roles, a characteristic we labeled "opportunity orientation," represents a second major dimension of student diversity. The reason so many first-generation college-goers attend as adults has to do with the norms for becoming "adult" in the working-class and inner-city communities where they grow up. In many such settings, becoming adult involves getting a job or joining the service, not attending an institution of higher education. As young adults experience educated role models in the military or on the job, they increasingly recognize their own talents and better understand the opportunities afforded by a college degree.

A view of adult status that excludes higher education as an appropriate choice provides an inadequate base for selecting high school courses and leads to indifferent performance in the courses that are chosen. Students with this orientation are most likely to attend college as adults, if at all, and bring with them the liabilities of their previous educational experiences, as well as the challenges of balancing coursework with the demands of a family and a job. The problematic characteristics of more diverse learners are cumulative. Lack of exposure to educated families and rigorous schooling causes preparation deficiencies. These are aggravated by cultural norms that define going to school and attaining adult status as mutually exclusive. The problem would be serious under any circumstances, but it is aggravated by the proportionately greater numbers of Black, Latino and American Indian students who experience poor preparation.[17]

The interviews identified four categories of student preparation. Group I included graduates who came from educated families, attended suburban or high-performing inner-city schools and always expected to go to college. This was the group who succeeded at places like UCLA despite being stereotyped in some instances as underprepared. Students from this group were very unlikely to attend community colleges. A second large group involved first-generation college students who lacked the detailed preparation of Group I, but who had grown up with strong parental encouragement to build a rewarding life through attending college. Group II identified mentoring, summer programs and such support activities as tutoring and learning laboratories as critical to their ability to persist. A significant proportion of this group began their postsecondary careers in a community college.

A third, quite small group, grew up in families and communities where the people with whom they associated had not been to college and where they were consistently advised that attending college would make no difference in the opportunities they would subsequently experience. Hampered by a lack of preparation and attitudes that defined college attendance as an inappropriate activity for adults, Group III graduates overcame incredible odds, including negative peer and family pressures. All graduates in this group reported community college experience as part of their degree attainment marathon. A high proportion were employed at the time of the interviews in jobs no better (and in two instances worse) than the jobs they held before entering college,

perhaps reflecting the self-fulfilling nature of the prophecy made by their friends and families.

A fourth group, also small, had detailed preparation, but lacked the conviction that a college education would make a significant difference in their lives. Group IV included a number of American Indians who came from reservations where unemployment rates were high and opportunities for professionally trained workers very limited. Several students from this group had attended associate degree institutions.

The characteristics of these four groups illuminate the preparation issue as it is currently defined for community colleges. Group I students are heavily recruited by selective institutions because their admission poses no threat to the way these institutions are currently doing business. Group II students are also heavily recruited, especially by teaching-oriented comprehensive colleges and universities. Even though they require special assistance in making the transition from high school and in coping with the demands of college work, they attend in the traditional full-time mode and are highly motivated. While institutions must make some adaptations to serve them effectively, such changes can often be accomplished by specialized staff, leaving the academic core of the institution free to continue traditional learning practices.

Group III is disproportionately Black and Latino and is concentrated in and around the larger American cities. In a very real sense, no one is anxious to serve this group, if by serving them is meant taking seriously the responsibility for helping them achieve success across the entire range of academic majors. Inner-city community colleges are happy to have them as clients as long as everyone understands that the outcomes for judging institutional success should be social welfare-oriented or preparation for lower level vocational careers. The problem of underpreparation for community colleges is most critically the task of achieving traditional outcomes for students whose diversity in preparation and opportunity orientation make them poor candidates for traditional learning practices.

Group IV is to some extent created by the unique circumstances of life on an Indian reservation. The phenomenon can also be observed among affluent and alienated majority students who have not been persuaded that the quality of their lives depends to any serious degree upon their own exertions.

A Conceptual Framework for Analyzing Preparation Issues

Figure 1 represents a model of the process through which 10 institutions involved in a national study of minority progress to the baccalaureate altered their organizational cultures to respond to the pressures produced by a more diverse student body.[18] When confronted with internal or external pressures to improve participation, institutions reacted in Stage 1 by emphasizing recruitment, financial aid, waiver of admission standards and providing more convenient class offerings. The more diverse students admitted experienced difficulties in meeting academic expectations developed for students with different precollege experiences.

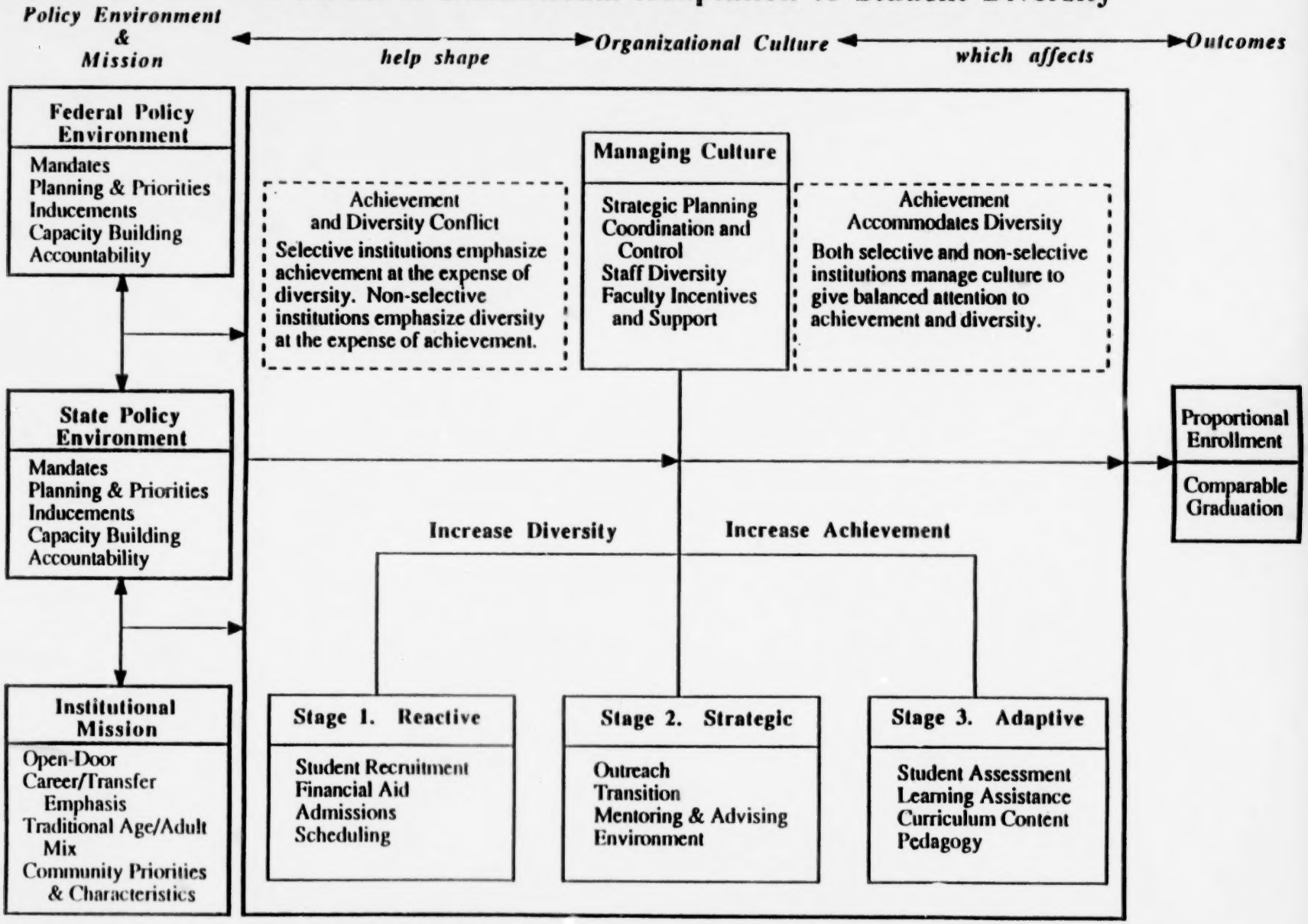
To counter high attrition rates, institutions adopted systematic interventions in Stage 2 to change students so they were better able to cope with institutional expectations. Some of the more multicultural institutions in the study approached a third stage when they adopted strategies to alter the learning environments they provided for more diversely prepared students rather than expecting students to do all of the changing.

Within the model, organizational culture is defined as the assumptions and beliefs shared by members.[19] Adaptation is defined as changes in an organization's behaviors, values and beliefs to maintain or improve relationships with those who control resources.[20, 21] The learning environment consists of the interventions and strategies an institution employs to help students achieve outcomes. The learning environment can be thought of as the observable product of an institution's invisible culture. Administrators and faculty leaders manage culture to ensure that institutions move through the three stages rather than reducing standards, redefining outcomes or tolerating excessively high attrition.

The model in Figure 1 contrasts open-access institutions and the achievement problems they commonly experience with selective institutions which are much more likely to experience participation problems. However, selective and open-access institutions can experience both types of problems. A racial or ethnic group can be underrepresented in the selective allied health programs of a community college. Conversely, a selective university in an urban setting may have good participation rates accompanied by disproportionately low graduation rates for some groups.

Colleges work with three sets of variables in responding to preparation issues: student characteristics, expected outcomes, and organizational culture. Institutions can limit student diversity through screening out those who lack the skills necessary to achieve specified outcomes within their existing learning environments. They can substitute new

A Model of Institutional Adaptation to Student Diversity*



* Student diversity has three major dimensions: (1) preparation, (2) opportunity orientation and (3) mode of college-going. African Americans, Hispanics and American Indians share these dimensions with other groups, but are distributed differently as a function of historic discrimination and socio-economic status. Note: Adaptation for community colleges, modified 1/25/90.

outcomes requiring less in the way of preparation or opportunity orientation; or alternatively, the requirements for achieving existing outcomes can be reduced. Finally, they can work to alter the organizational cultures that define the range of student diversity their learning environments serve effectively. Altering organizational culture is the most difficult and time-consuming of the three alternatives, but it is also the one that offers the best hope for augmenting deficiency approaches with alternatives that emphasize achievement.

Institutional Strategies for Responding to Preparation Issues

Community colleges have had substantial success in removing the barriers to participation by previously underrepresented groups. They have also had better success in reducing race and ethnicity-related differences in achievement than many of their four-year counterparts. Important disparities remain, however, and are an important factor underlying much of the current concern about community college outcomes.[22]

In 1986, Blacks were 88% as likely as Anglos to attend a two-year college in the 26 states where they represented more than 5% of the population. A Black attending a two-year college was 85% as likely as an Anglo to graduate. Latinos in the 10 states where they represented more than 5% of the population in 1986 were 68% as likely to attend and 91% as likely to graduate as Anglos. With the exception of a 6% decline in participation by Blacks, all rates remained essentially constant between 1980 and 1986. By way of contrast, Blacks, Latinos and American Indians, as a group, were only 64% as likely as Anglos to attend a four-year institution in 1986 and only 71% as likely to graduate.[23]

The model in Figure 1 can be used as a tool to help institutions assess the effectiveness of their strategies for responding to student diversity. The first step requires the examination of outcomes over time to determine the relative importance of strategies that focus on reducing barriers, changing students or changing the learning environment. The outcomes that drive much current debate are graduation and transfer rates. Participation rates also remain important in institutions created to promote equity. While other outcomes might reasonably be considered in any analysis, they cannot substitute for the purposes most closely associated with the policy decision to establish community colleges as opportunity institutions.

Institutions with declining participation rates may discover that changes in the policy environment, including quality initiatives and diminishing student financial assistance, have eroded some of the progress they had previously made in serving underrepresented populations. The strategies for removing barriers to participation are grouped under stage 1 of the model.

Community colleges in Chicago and elsewhere have placed greater emphasis on recruiting from inner-city schools and have established merit scholarships for students of color. Such actions communicate their interest in serving the academically talented as well as those with preparation problems. Many community colleges have also placed renewed emphasis on the transfer sequence, often in collaboration with neighboring four-year institutions. Urban community colleges have adopted multiple admissions criteria for selective allied health programs to ensure enrollments reflective of the racial and ethnic composition of their open-door programs.

Fine tuning stage 1 strategies may provide help to community colleges in changing the image they present to better prepared students. However, additional emphasis on

removing barriers has at least as much potential for increasing the preparation problem as for moderating it. More promising for most community colleges are the stage 2 strategies that focus on preparation, broadly defined, as a means of reducing the mismatch between institutional expectations and student capabilities.

Community colleges can motivate high school students to stay in school and to take more rigorous coursework through outreach programs of the type offered in Los Angeles and elsewhere. They can strengthen preparation and assist transition through summer programs of the type offered by South Mountain College in Phoenix. They can emphasize mentoring and tutoring to offset limited opportunity orientations in addition to providing extra help for students with nontraditional academic preparation. And they can give special attention to buffering identifiable minority students from the racism that often intrudes from the surrounding community.

It is not sufficient to offer some of these interventions to students who qualify under state or federal equal opportunity guidelines. Community colleges are most often the institution of choice for first-generation college students. Such individuals are, at best, uncertain climbers. Providing them with a ladder with missing rungs is a sure recipe for failure. The institutions most advanced in their use of stage 2 strategies provide a comprehensive and coherent combination of these interventions to all students on the basis of need rather than race or ethnicity.

Community colleges also need to enhance their competitive position for the first-generation students in the traditional age group most likely to benefit from stage 2 interventions. One promising approach is the guaranteed acceptance program currently offered in the states of Pennsylvania and Washington. At the Community College of Philadelphia (CCP), students are guaranteed acceptance to the main campus of Penn State in the program of their choice with full credit for all coursework upon completion of the provisions of an agreement they sign at the time they enter CCP. Any attempt to improve advising and remove barriers to trouble-free transfer will improve the appeal of community colleges to better prepared and more serious students.

Stage 2 strategies can be found in abundance in most community colleges. Some improvement in outcomes may result from further refinement, better coordination and making the programs and services more widely available. It seems highly unlikely, however, that race and ethnicity-related differences in participation and achievement, in addition to generally low graduation and transfer rates, can be fully offset by relying exclusively on stage 1 or stage 2 interventions. Community colleges will also have to consider stage 3 strategies for changing their learning environments.

Technology has been (and perhaps remains) the great hope of administrators and state policy officials for changing the learning environment. The results of implementing new technologies have been disappointing, however, largely because technology has had little impact on classroom instruction.[24] Altering the values and beliefs of faculty members so that technology and other forms of pedagogy are used effectively with the students who now attend community colleges, as distinct from those the faculty might prefer, requires

changes in organizational culture. Such changes are most likely to occur when stage 3 strategies are systematically employed.[25]

Student assessment helps to create more manageable learning conditions within the classroom. It may also be used, not necessarily to popular acclaim, to enforce accountability for student learning as in Florida and Texas. Developmental education -- reading, writing, mathematics, study skills, test-taking skills, and personal adjustment[26] -- represents a major stage 3 strategy for addressing deficiencies between student preparation and the demands of academic programs. Developmental programs pressure existing faculty practices by demonstrating that under the right conditions underprepared students can persist and achieve at rates that sometimes exceed the performance of better prepared counterparts in the standard programs. For optimum contribution, such programs must be designed to counter the common student perception that they constitute an obstacle separating them from their reasons for attending college.

Curricular and pedagogical change can be powerful strategies for changing culture where faculty are a central part of the decision-making process. While the focus of institutional response to diversity has often involved incorporating the contributions of other cultures through adding courses or changing the content of existing courses, there is also the opportunity to strengthen faculty accountability for transfer programs (as distinct from individual courses)[27] and to bring transfer courses into closer alignment with the offerings of four-year institutions which accept the largest proportion of a college's transfers.

Arguably, community colleges have paid more attention to all three of the stages than their four-year sister institutions. Part of the transfer issue clearly relates to the unwillingness of four-year institutions to match the scheduling adjustments, support services and responsive learning environments routinely provided by many community colleges.[28]

While changing organizational culture represents the most promising long-term approach for dealing with preparation issues, short-term strategies are also necessary to address immediate problems. Two possibilities for exploration are suggested by the experiences of urban schools and university professional schools.

City school districts in Memphis, Los Angeles and elsewhere have chosen to concentrate resources on helping some students achieve excellence rather than attempting to bring everyone to some minimum level of underachievement. While the results are sometimes demoralizing for those who remain behind in neighborhood schools stripped of their more talented students, the outcomes for those who remain behind are not discernibly worse than before and the more talented are challenged to develop their full potential. Honors programs in community colleges represent a manifestation of this line of thought. Too often, however, the criteria for participation exclude highly motivated and talented students of color who have been diagnosed by the deficiency model as underprepared.

The Boston University (BU) Medical School recruits college juniors from historically Black colleges and universities in the South. Students are admitted to medical school as an honor at the end of their junior year based on grades and instructors' recommendations. No test scores are involved. Students spend their senior year at BU where they earn credits toward graduation from their sending colleges, while concurrently receiving credit for several of the courses required for their first year of medical school. Those who belong to sororities and fraternities at sending colleges are given full membership in related BU sororities and fraternities. At the end of their senior year at BU, they receive a bachelor's degree from the sending institution and enter medical school a step ahead of those who came in through regular admissions procedures.[29] The tech-prep option represents a similar approach by community colleges for career programs.[30]

The BU program and those offered by the public schools in Los Angeles and Memphis are important because they represent radical departures from the deficiency model. The magnet programs identify and build on students' strengths rather than focusing on weaknesses. The BU program provides an alternative for students who would never qualify for admission to a medical school under standard procedures. Both programs make use of the concepts embodied in the model through addressing systematically all three stages of adaptation within a single program. Both the magnet program and the alternative medical school program remove barriers, help students adjust to high expectations, and change the learning environments students experience.

Community colleges are not free to choose between the deficiency and achievement models. Given scarce resources and continuing pressures from students seeking access, they must continue to implement the deficiency model as best they can. Concurrently some may choose to dedicate more of their resources to programs where carefully selected and highly motivated nontraditional learners from underrepresented communities experience an opportunity to achieve excellence. Perhaps the most compelling reason for seeking better balance between deficiency and achievement approaches rests with the contribution of the latter to administrative efforts to alter organizational culture.

The Role of Leadership

As a function of their philosophy and funding, community colleges remain more firmly attached to unrestricted access, job training, community service, convenience and low cost than to such correlates of achievement as intellectual inquiry, the collegiate function or a generally educated population.[31] While most community colleges display characteristics of all three of the stages depicted in the model, many could improve their outcomes for more diversely prepared students by giving greater attention to stage 2 and stage 3 strategies.

How do institutions change to achieve a better balance between the emphasis given to increasing diversity and the attention focused on changing the learning environment to promote higher levels of student achievement? The answer suggested by the model involves the management of organizational culture.

Administrators manage organizational culture through strategic planning, by coordinating and controlling the implementation of plans, by assessing outcomes, by selecting new staff who embody the values and behaviors desired in the changed culture, and by providing incentives and support to existing staff to encourage them to change in desired directions.

The recent efforts of Miami-Dade Community College furnish a case study of how the process operates. Through consensus-building task force activity, the college defined seven shared values related to teaching and learning. These values were legitimated through adoption by the Board of Trustees in December 1987.[32] In a related activity, a second subcommittee, studying the environment Miami-Dade provided for teaching and learning, produced a statement on faculty excellence which was adopted by the board in October 1988.[33]

After reaching consensus on shared values and faculty behaviors related to the attainment of those values, a third subcommittee developed a framework for relating the institution's system of rewards and recognition to the identified values and behaviors. Following extensive discussion and appropriate revisions, the framework was adopted by majority vote of the faculty in April 1989. Concurrent with these efforts to mobilize and empower existing staff, Miami-Dade has worked with the University of Miami to define expectations for new staff and developed a program to ensure new staff develop the values, beliefs and knowledge necessary for them to become fully contributing members of the Miami-Dade community.

When these efforts are placed in the context of student assessment as mandated by Florida and the learning assistance for which Miami-Dade has long been widely recognized,[34] it is apparent that college leadership has consciously managed the culture to ensure systematic attention to each of the variables that are involved in changing the learning environment. Other community colleges have paid attention to stage 2 and stage 3 interventions as well, but most have not been as systematic or persistent in their efforts over such an extended period of time.

Conclusion

The preparation issue is arguably the most important challenge community colleges currently confront. It cannot be neutralized by redefining outcomes so that underprepared students can achieve them. Nor can it be avoided by excluding students who are assessed as extremely high risk. Increasing the numbers who participate without corresponding increases in the numbers who attain outcomes to which the public attaches priority, only aggravates the problem. Changing the learning environment, especially that part which is determined by student interaction with faculty members, is the only alternative that offers much hope for long-term improvement.

Approaching the issue of student diversity from the perspective of organizational culture can help institutional leaders avoid the pursuit of strategies that promise diminishing returns. It is organizational culture that furnishes the context within which faculty beliefs and values define teaching and the learning process. It is organizational culture that gives meaning to the concept of underpreparation and defines the appropriate institutional response.

The prevailing community college approach to student preparation issues involves a deficiency model where remediation is emphasized as the dominant strategy for bringing everyone to minimum standards. Needed as well is an achievement model that challenges faculty to design an environment where diversity is valued and individuals are inspired to build on strengths to attain maximum potential. A complicating factor is that the two models need to coexist in most community colleges for the foreseeable future.

The task of implementing achievement models in institutions historically committed to access is, above all, a task of managing culture. While culture management is more time-consuming and difficult than the introduction of technology, it is the only approach through which the faculty who control the nature of the learning environment and its impact on students can be influenced to augment deficiency views and practices. There are emerging models of the way the process works. Efforts to manage culture will be aided by the opportunity to employ new staff as those representative of founding values and beliefs retire in large numbers over the next decade.

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Notes

1. A. W. Astin, Minorities in American Higher Education (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass 1982), p. 153. See also R. C. Richardson, Serving More Diverse Students: A Contextual View (Denver: Education Commission of the States, June 1989) for an expanded treatment of the effects of the policy decisions of the "Great Society" era.

2. A. Wildavsky, Speaking Truth to Power: The Art and Craft of Policy Analysis (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1979), pp. 49-53.

3. Cited by Wildavsky as the title of a Saturday Review essay by Amitai Etzioni.

4. S. Brint and J. Karabel, The Diverted Dream: Community Colleges and the Promise of Educational Opportunity in America, 1900-1985 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989).

5. A. M. Cohen and F. B. Brawer, The American Community College (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1982), p. 288.

6. R. C. Richardson, E. C. Fisk and M. A. Okun, Literacy in the Open Access College (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1983).

7. S. D. Roueche and U. N. Comstock, "A Report on Theory and Methods for the Study of Literacy Development in Community Colleges," ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED211 161 (National Institute of Education, 1981).

8. J. Warren, "The Changing Characteristics of Community College Students" in W. L. Deegan, D. Tillery and Associates, Renewing the American College (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1985), p. 60.

9. K. P. Cross and E. F. Fideler, "Community College Missions: Priorities in the Mid-1980s," Journal of Higher Education, vol. 60, no. 2 (March/April 1989), p. 211.

10. See, for example, R. H. McCabe, "The Educational Program of the American Community College: A Transition" in J. S. Keaton, editor, Colleges of Choice (New York: ACE/Macmillan, 1988).

11. Wildavsky (1979), p. 46.

12. For an extended discussion of this phenomenon and additional references, see R. Richardson and L. Bender, Fostering Minority Access and Achievement in Higher Education (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1987).

13. Augenblick, Van de Water and Associates, An Examination of the Overall Structure for the Delivery of Public Postsecondary Education in Florida: Final

Report of the Structure Committee of the Florida Postsecondary Education Planning Commission (Denver, Colorado: AVA, January 17, 1990).

14. P. Kotler and K. F. A. Fox, Strategic Marketing for Educational Institutions (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1985) is a standard reference on this topic.

15. R. C. Richardson and E. F. Skinner, Achieving Access and Quality: Case Studies in Equity (New York: ACE/Macmillan, scheduled for release Summer 1990).

16. A detailed account of the study and its outcomes appears in E. F. Skinner and R. C. Richardson, "Making It in a Majority University: The Minority Graduates Perspective," Change, vol. 20/no. 3 (May/June 1988), pp. 34-47.

17. For a study on the concentration of minority students in urban institutions that lack the resources and diversity of the surrounding suburban areas which contribute to the visibility of minority preparation problems, see, for example, G. Orwell et al., The Chicago Study of Access and Choice in Higher Education (Chicago: University of Chicago Committee on Public Policy Studies, September 1984).

18. For a complete description of the model and its development, see R. C. Richardson and E. F. Skinner (Summer 1990).

19. G. D. Kuh and T. E. J. Whitt, The Invisible Tapestry: Culture in American Colleges and Universities, ASHE/ERIC Higher Education Report, no. 1 (Washington, D.C.: Association for the Study of Higher Education, 1988).

20. The concept of resource dependence is treated in depth in J. Pfeffer and G. R. Salancik, The External Control of Organizations (New York: Harper and Row, 1978).

21. P. Goodman and J. W. Dean, Jr., "Creating Long-term Organizational Change" in P. Goodman and Associates, Change in Organizations (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1982).

22. This issue is concisely discussed in F. L. Pincus and E. Archer, Bridges to Opportunity: Are Community Colleges Meeting the Transfer Needs of Minority Students? (New York: Academy for Educational Development and College Entrance Examination Board, 1989), p. 1.

23. The graduation rates for African Americans, Hispanics and American Indians are significantly higher in four-year than two-year institutions, but the discrepancies between Anglo and minority participation and graduation rates are less in two-year than in four-year institutions. All statistics are based on ratio comparisons of data furnished to the National Center for Educational Statistics through the Higher Education General Information Survey (HEGIS). Comparisons should be interpreted with caution since more two- than four-year institutions fail to report

HEGIS data and many of the missing institutions are located in urban settings. The probable effect of their omission is to understate participation and overstate graduation for the two-year sector.

24. K. Anadam, "Technology for Education: Promises and Problems" in G. H. Voegel, editor, Advances in Instructional Technology: New Directions for Community Colleges, no. 55, (Fall 1986), pp. 70-71.

25. This proposition is currently being tested in a Ford Foundation-funded research project being conducted by the author. The project has identified faculty behaviors associated with student achievement in community colleges and demonstrated that these behaviors vary significantly across a random sample of community colleges. Currently, we are examining the relationship between administrative priorities and strategies and the incidence of Stage 3 faculty behaviors. A progress report on this project will be presented at the 1990 meeting of the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges.

26. L. M. Tomlinson, Postsecondary Developmental Programs: A Traditional Agenda with New Imperatives, Report no. 3 (Washington, D.C.: School of Education and Human Development, The George Washington University, 1989).

27. One scheme for accomplishing this is described in R. C. Richardson and H. L. Simmons, "Is It Time for a New Look at Academic Organization in Community Colleges?" Community College Review, vol. 17, no.1 (Summer 1989), pp. 34-39.

28. The barriers to transfer imposed by public four-year institutions in urban settings are documented in depth in R. C. Richardson and L. W. Bender, Fostering Minority Access and Achievement in Higher Education (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1987).

29. A. Culbert, "Early Acceptance and Institutional Linkages in a Model Program of Recruitment, Retention, and Timely Graduation from Medical School" in Black Student Retention in Higher Education, edited by M. Lang and C. A. Ford (Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas, 1988).

30. For a description of this program, see D. Parnell, Dateline 2000: The New Higher Education Agenda (Washington, D.C.: The Community College Press, 1990), pp. 60-61.

31. J. S. Eaton, Colleges of Choice: The Enabling Impact of the Community College (New York: ACE/Macmillan, 1988), pp. 3-4.

32. The values identified by the teaching/learning project and adopted by the board were published by Miami-Dade Community College in an undated pamphlet titled, "Values: Teaching and Learning." The introduction relates these values to the development of mission goals, philosophy and operational procedures.

33. Miami-Dade Community College, Faculty Excellence: Teaching/Learning (District Board of Trustees, October 1988).

34. See, for example, J. E. Roueche and G. A. Baker, Access and Excellence: The Open Door College (Washington, D.C.: Community College Press, 1987).

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